142 cont. / [Traditional Culture]

114 565 class expresses the concept of a group with a definite place in the process of production; nothing indicates that the Naati did not participate along with the Wahereˆ-Txané and the Kauti themselves in agricultural labor; on the contrary, everything favors this hypothesis.

114 565 555 701 [567] Xuna-Xati, in our opinion, corresponds to the warrior hero, the one who managed to kill an enemy in battle and is thus honored by the tribe with this title which, literally translated, would mean killer. Therefore, warriors could be all those who participated in the battles and forays of the group, whether they were Naati or Wahereˆ-Txané. Consequently, members of one or the other group could become Xuna-Xati, including the Kauti, even though this was not very common, since it was rare for the latter to participate in battles. (65)

65. This is a subject that is not very clear, although the Terêna we talked to state that the participation of the Kauti in battles was minimal. The chroniclers consulted are not explicit on this. It appears certain, however, that the Terêna--contrary to what occurred among the Mbayá-Guaikurú--were not as successful, or perhaps did not even attempt to incite their captives to warfare or even encourage them to become incorporated into the dominant group.

[171]

[Traditional Culture]

177 178 462 562 565 171 [591] [596]

/44 cont./ The special emphasis on removing women from farm work is explained, on the one hand, by the important role they played in Guaná culture, which was organized basically around matrilocal extended families, despite the fact that the Terêna today, are bilocal; on the other hand, by the attempt to parallel Guaykuru women, who "throughout the period of their marriage enjoy the position of ladies.... It reverted to the husband's care to provide the game and other provisions to feed the family." (Labrador, 1910; II:26.)

178 555 565 [721] [631]

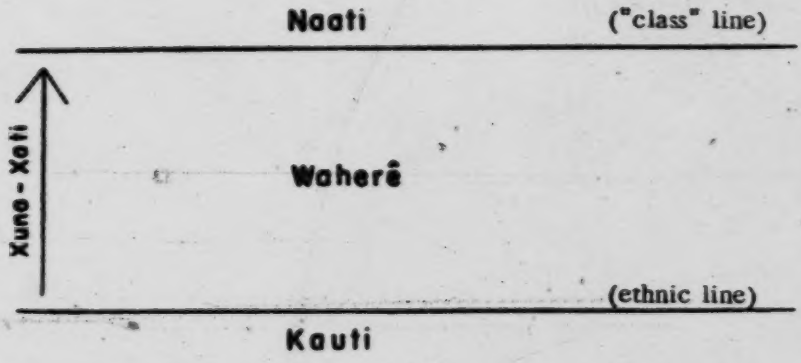
/45/ The dynamization of Guaná social structure can be attributed to vertical mobility, which, if it did not begin as a result of relations with the Mbayá-Guaykurú, must have become intensified after the Guaná stepped up the taking of captives in an attempt to keep up with their allies. In this manner the Guaná, as they became stratified in such a way as to guarantee to the chieftainship and leadership of the group a single stratum, that of the Naati, which consisted, as we have seen, of the relatives of the caciques, set up a clever compensation mechanism. This stratum, endogamous like the others, became accessible to heroes, who rose to it by means of their deeds. Such a possibility of social ascension was not /Figure 1 appears here/ limited, however, to the Waherê-Txané; it was also granted to the Kauti, or captives, who adapted to the same mechanism of status change, i.e., the elevation of the individual to the next higher stratum.

/45 cont./ [Traditional Culture]

555 565 [563] It followed, furthermore, that for these Kauti, given their different ethnic origin, this meant, above all, their incorporation into the local group as free men.(71) The basic condition for upward social

71. Cf. Oberg, 1948:285.

ascension, without any doubt, was heroism in fights, which was rewarded with the title Xuna-Xati. Thus, it is made clear that Xuna-Xati could



[563]

Figure 1. Threefold asymmetrical structure combining a social and an ethnic stratification.

not /46/ have been a stratum of the same nature as the Naati and Waherê-Txané or Maxati-Txaná, or, even, similar to the Kauti, as can be seen in Figure 1.

616 [565] But the Guaná communities seem not to have been limited to being stratified into endogamous strata, to judge by the information we have on the Terêna of old: there was, also, a dual division, i.e., two moieties, also endogamous, divided the group into Xumonó and Sukirikioné.

/47 cont./ Traditional Culture

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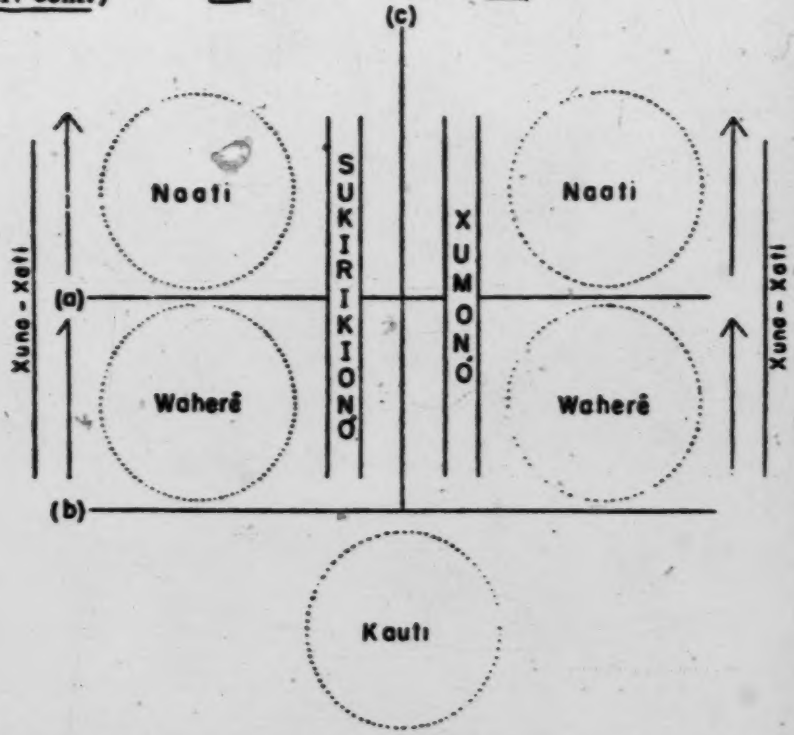

Figure 2. Schematization of the Terêna-Guaná social structure, formed by the superimposition of two substructures: 1) the terms written horizontally represent the threefold and asymmetric substructure (see Figure 1); the terms written perpendicularly in capital letters represent the twofold and symmetric substructure. The dividing lines (a), (b) and (c) correspond to a compartmentalization into five parts or five possible marriage situations, represented by the dotted circles. The dynamism of the threefold structure is due to the Xuna-Xati, noted perpendicularly and with arrows indicating vertical mobility.

616 Cohishotiquipahú...." (72) By plumbing the oral tradition of the
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[121]

72. 1928:109.

Terêna, especially of the /48/ Buriti, Bananal, Ipegue, and Cachoeirinha local groups, we were able to corroborate this

/141 cont./

where he went to live with his wife and a small child, leaving his own community, Cachoeirinha, "to try it out." He lived in the boss's house, next to the bakery, and his wife worked in the same house as a domestic servant. He says that in spite of the fact that the mistress--the boss's wife--was very ill-tempered with the bakery employees, he was sticking it out and would not leave of his own free will. "He was already carving the bread, and shortly he would no longer be an assistant! As a baker," he stated with some vehemence, "he would end up earning 2,500 cruzeiros, and if he got to be a 'master,' he could earn 7,500 cruzeiros!" According to what he told us, it could not be said that his work (at least as a baker's assistant) was much better than what he might have achieved in the aldea or on the fazendas; he worked from 10 p.m. until noon the next day; he rested about four hours and took up his work, making flour until 8 p.m., when he had dinner, and at 10 p.m. he went on to make bread again. This was his daily routine. And in spite of this, he pondered: "The only bad thing was the pain in the eyes (due to the flour, the dust, or the weak light) and the sleepiness; the body did not tire much, as happens in agricultural work; but, the most important thing was that it was not worn down!" This concern with saving the body, we were able to ascertain, was common to most of the Terêna with whom we spoke. One of them, for example, explained to us that he had given up work "beating" coffee, because his arms and his lungs could no longer take it.... The tendency for young men, as they themselves say, "is to find a trade (such as baker, wood furniture maker, etc.) or to set up a 'bolicho' and earn money in the shade." We shall see below why this is no more than a rarely achieved expectation, as is well illustrated by Arlindo himself, who is now "changueando" and trying to set up his own farm plot on the family "lot."

This concern with the body--which we do not claim to be peculiar to the Indian--is one of the factors that have operated

G /141 cont./
*177 rather actively in the social mobility of the Terêna, impelling
463 him to try to change his "trade" or, better, to acquire skill
555 in a nonmanual trade, wherever the opportunity arises. Since
[82] what little craft work to be found in the aldea /142/ itself,
[369] such as metal work, leather work, or tailoring, is not sufficient
[167] to exempt those who exercise it from agricultural tasks and
work on the fazendas, a move to the cities (physical mobility)
appears to the Terêna as the sole possibility for a real change
of occupation (horizontal mobility) while at the same time it
might raise him in social life (vertical mobility). While such
a new occupation is not always achieved, as in the case of
Arlindo, the attempts and efforts exerted to obtain it always
G yield new experiences to the individual and, indirectly, to the
[469] group. We may conclude that the labor market, both urban
[167] and rural, to the extent that it draws the Terêna outside his
aldea, is creating conditions for his assimilation.

Divergent Factors

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*177 1. The existence of a peculiar physical appearance as
563 well as language, creates barriers which are extraordinarily
369 difficult to overcome, since the Terêna is discriminated against
B wherever he goes. This applies to the aldea Indians, and in a
563 sense to those on the fazendas--as far as the phenotype is con-
G cerned--more than among those living in the cities, who for
[191] the most part speak Portuguese correctly and without an accent,
while at the same time they dress better and are practically
undifferentiated from the neo-Brazilian of the less-favored
G classes. Their very physical type blends with that of the
[142] biologically mestizo population (207) which, on its part, never

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207. We say "biologically mestizo" in spite of being aware that we are falling

6:Oliveira E-5 (1955-1958)1961 SK7 Guana SK7
Terena

maintaining its social superiority, namely the Naati. One of the incidents most frequently mentioned by the Terena occurred in 1910, and illustrates the vitality of the threefold, assymmetrical structure. A Waheré-Txané family asked the hand of a Naati girl in marriage to one of their own young men, since the two were very much in love. The grandmother of the girl (mother of her mother) refused to give her consent on the grounds that the suitor was not a Naati. She finally gave in at the insistence of her own family: her son-in-law (father of the girl) had his wife intercede with her mother (the girl's grandmother) pleading that having to feed three daughters was too much for him. Some conclusions can be drawn from this incident: 1) the importance of the women in a Terena family, being as it were the guardian of tribal tradition (a number of examples support this observation); 2) a situation typical of the transitional state of the strata; 3) the important place of the old people in the Terena social system, almost suggesting the possibility of a gerontocracy (the retention of power by old people in the modern "Village Councils" is pertinent to this hypothesis).[10] There are Naati families in Cachoerinha that continue to maintain the endogamy of the stratum marrying by preference solely from among the stratum and with difficulty tolerate a marriage of one their stratum with a Waheré-Txané.

This brings us to the conclusion that, while the dual, symmetrical structure has disappeared as a regulatory element in marriage, remembered now only as a "ceremonial principle", the threefold, assymetrical structure, while remembered by relatively few, continues to have a certain effect precarious at best, in the regulation of marriage of the Naati as a social in-group.

4. Warrior Heroes—The Xuna-Xati

The dynamic of the threefold structure depended upon the Xuna-Xati. According to the interpretation of Oberg (1948 : 284, 1949 : 28-29), the Xuna-Xati represented a social "class" midway between the Naati and the Waheré. This interpretation appears to us to be unfounded, since both the Naati and the Waheré, as well as the Kauti, could become Xuna-Xati by having *killed an enemy in battle*. Xuna-Xati represented, then the *killer*, the warrior who distinguished himself on the battlefield by killing an adversary. The Terena recount that, after having killed an enemy, the warrior put his foot on the chest of

[10] The "Village Council" an institution created by the Indian Protective Service, was at first composed entirely of Naati individuals, taking advantage of the prestige of the elders in order to have a greater voice in th communities. Later certain prominent Waheré-Txané in each local group were accepted.

6:Oliveira E-5 (1955-1958)1961 SK7 Guana SK7
Terena

565 the fallen man, and blew a horn. This both announced his triumph
555 and claimed for himself the title of Xuna-Xati. "War Chiefs" were
[701] recruited from the social group formed by the Xuna-Xati, i. e., from this group of "decorated" warriors, without regard for *social* or *ethnic* gackground. It was, however, infrequent for a Kauti who was also a Xuna-Xati to be named a "War Chief", according to our informants. He would have had to be exceptional indeed to compete with the powerful group of Xuna-Xati who were Terena by birth. It appears that this "chieftainship" was retained by the Naati/Xuna-Xati or by the Waheré/Xuna-Xati, which demonstrates that the *ethnic* line was harder to cross than was the *social* line, in Terena society (cf. Figure III).

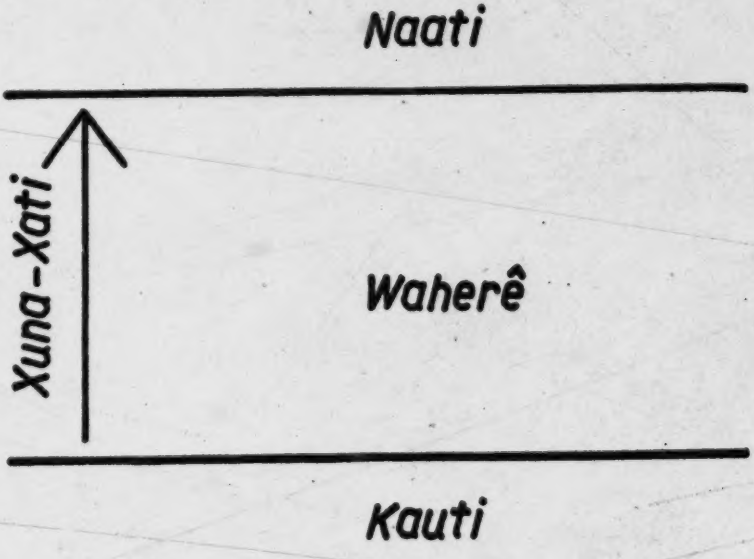

Figure III

582 The role played by the institution of the Xuna-Xati in the matri-
565 monial sphere was extremely important. It succeeded in breaking
557 stratum endogamy which, in structural terms, seemed absolute. The Kauti/Xuna-Xati came to have the right to marry Waheré women (Waheré-Seenó), just as the Waheré/Xuna-Xati could marry a Naati woman (Naati-Seenó). Thus a man of an inferior stratum could seek a wife from the next superior stratum. Although there was apparently nothing